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/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SA8 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

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/fn. 7 cont./ from the çorocotoquys to the [illegible] two, and near them are the çurumanos and simacosis, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the cayuvas who similarly are the masters of the metal." Normally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaicurú /Guaicuru/ family.

/205/ This collaboration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Stories about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /205/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirahua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšavanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

1: Métraux--26 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
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Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 341): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

"Aracare ... ordered them (the Guarani who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guarani from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

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Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guarani, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

169 [464] /312 cont./ Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "caribous," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Izoseo from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsirakua, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots, which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there. "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

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Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

173 539 648 484 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

C G 175 484 /313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

C G 175 167 484 [162] I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

C G 114 175 167 484 174 Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

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Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

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Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toro and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Mizque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

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Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

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The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuzcotutyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

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for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

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/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

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The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

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/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him; and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

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This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

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/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chrorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

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/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/316 cont./
decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la Sierra."

In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movement: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River; that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

CG /319/
175 They took from them the gold and silver plaques and orna-
167 ments they had. As soon as they arrived at the first villages
727 they began to make war on the inhabitants and to kill many
726 Indians. Many villages were laid waste and the inhabitants withdrew toward the interior. Then all the tribes of this land joined together and marched against his people, put them to rout, and caused great carnage. The others fled in various directions and the enemy Indians followed them, barred their way, and massacred them all. Scarcely 200 were able to escape out of all those who had left and who were so numerous that the fields were covered with them. He himself was among those who escaped. The greatest number of escapees stayed in the bush through which they had passed and settled there, for they had not dared retrace their steps for fear that the Guaxarapo, Guato, and other tribes would exterminate them. He himself had not wanted to live with them and he left with those who decided to continue their march. On the way they were seen by Indians who assailed them at night and killed them all. He had hidden in the thickness of the copse and, slipping through the underbrush, he had arrived in the country of the Xaray, who had taken and adopted him for a long time. Finally, since their fellow-feelings were mutual, they gave him a woman of the tribe as a wife. He was asked whether he had any recollection of the route he and his people had taken to go into the interior. He answered that it was a
CG 175 long time ago that he had taken this route and that then the
167 people of his tribe cleared a passage for themselves by cutting
484 trees and cleaning out the underbrush with which this land was
487 covered. He supposed that since that time brambles and weeds must have overrun the path. He had not gone there any more, nor had he been to see it again. Nevertheless, it seemed to him that if he began to follow it, he would be able to continue; and that this route began near a rounded mountain which could be seen from Puerto de los Reyes. He was questioned also on the number of days necessary to reach the first of these villages. He said that, according to his recollection, one could get there in five days and great provisions would be found there, for the Indians are excellent farmers.

/319 cont./

there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

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C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2. p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest... Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

C 114 127 175 [101]

Ce 175 648 [797]

/325 cont./ of subjection which attached them to the Chiriguano: as a matter of fact, in the 18th century great social transformations took place and little by little they tried to free themselves from their servitude."

There is little to add to this account by Kersten (pp. 69-71), so clear and exact. However, I should like to complete it by quoting some texts of the 16th century which illuminate the drama of which the Chané had been the victims since the end of the 15th century.

C 175 72 167 Ce 175 648

The war of extermination made by the Guarani on the Chané dates from their first migrations to the country of metal. Thus it was that the Chané who, as we have seen, recounted to Irala the great exodus of the Guarani of Itatí before García's expedition, was taken along by the latter as a slave on the banks of the Paraguay. The Guarani, passing through his country at night, had attacked the home of his people and taken women and children as captives. Later, this Chané was a member of García's expedition. Upon the death of the latter, the Guarani got ready to kill him to devour him as they had done with his companions and several women. He was able to escape and take refuge among the Guaxarapo (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 347-348).

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Ce [113]

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In an account that a Guarani gave to the same Irala about the expedition in which he had taken part to go to the country of metal, he speaks of the /326/ Chané exactly as the Chiriguano will do a century later; "They fell," says he, "on the houses of slave and enemy Indians." This term "slaves" applied to the Chané characterizes well the relations the Chiriguano had with them until not long ago (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 330). In the middle of the interview a Chané challenged our Guarani to ask him whether he had been present when the people of Itatí destroyed his tribe. When the Guarani inquired who he was, he replied: "I am the chief of the slaves of whom you speak, and, taken prisoner at the time you say, I lived with these Guarani until the moment when I went away and came here. The land you speak of is mine. Why do you not tell the truth to the Christians who are asking for nothing else but the way to

Ce 178 439 323 [177] /331 cont./

The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C G 177 178 342 596

Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes, they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today, intended to house only one family. In the same way one can witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano. Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

C 17

Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface. With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C 105 175

The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

C [167]

They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

C /331 cont./

105 175 [167] [173] This migration had as its motive power the attraction which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

Ce [197] [199] At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

C [648] [563] [619] The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives. The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

C [197] From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

Ce [199] [197] [198] On their part the Chané adopted the language of their conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a secret language.

C 175 131

Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matako-Mataguayo and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

C [101]

C [361]

/430 cont./ Let us not forget that pyrography is a masculine activity and that men are more open than women to every innovation. Moreover, for the most part they have gone to Argentina, and from there, with a new turn of mind, they brought back models and inspirations foreign to their ancient tradition. This European influence is patent in many cases; thus, the calabash of Plate LXVII, 3, and the one of Plate LXIX, 1, are decorated with Arabic numbers. The calabashes of Plates LXIV, 1, LXV, 1 and 5, and LXIX, 5, are decorated with stylized flowers or stars which are not Indian at all. The influence of the white men and their bad taste is evident in the motifs painted in roucou which decorate the calabash of Plate LXV, 3.

Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations are commoner on calabashes than on pottery. A rough drawing of a man greatly schematized /431/ is represented on the calabash of Plate LXIII, 1 a and b. On the calabash of Plate LXIII, ? a, dogs have been engraved and birds on those of Plates LXIII, 1, LXVIII, 3 a and b, LXIX, ?, and LXXI, 3. A llama was represented in very expressive fashion on calabash No. ? b on Plate LXIII; and on the calabash of Fig. 85 a and b one recognizes a horse and a feline animal, a puma or jaguar. Three fish and a bird appear on the specimen of Plate LXVII, 2.

The Indians of the Ivu mission and the ones from the Caipipendí valley paint their calabashes with roucou. This color is very difficult to rub off and does not spread beyond the periphery of the colored designs. /Fig. 86 appears here. To obtain this result, the Chiriguano begin

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

TRIBES OF THE EASTERN SLOPES OF THE BOLIVIAN ANDES

By Alfred Métraux

INTRODUCTION

Five tribes live along the slopes of the Bolivian Cordillera from the Argentine border to Perú: The *Chiriguano*, the *Yuracare*, the *Mosetene* and *Chimane*, the *Lara*, and the *Tacana*. The *Chiriguano* belong to the *Tupi-Guarani* group; the *Yuracare*, *Lara*, and *Tacana* represent still isolated linguistic families. The *Mosetene* and *Chimane* form a single linguistic group.

CHIRIGUANO AND CHANE

HISTORY

The *Chiriguano* (*Ava Chiripuno*) (map 1, *No. 3*; map 2; map 8, *No. 5*) are the descendants of the *Guarani* who in historic times migrated from Paraguay and crossed the plains of the Chaco in successive waves to settle along the foothills of the Andes from the upper Pilcomayo River to the upper Río Grande (Guapay River). (Lat. 18°–23° S., long. 63°–64° W.) Seven migrations are alluded to in historical documents.

The first migration (1471 or 1476), reported by Garcilaso de la Vega, took place during the last year of the reign of Inca Yupanqui. Another, between 1513 and 1518, can be surmised from the testimony of a *Guarani* Indian who spoke to Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. A *Chané* Indian captured by the *Guarani* and brought to Itatí told Domingo de Irala in 1542 of a third migration, between 1519 and 1523, which probably came after the 1513-18 invasion and certainly before that in which Alejo García took part. The *Guarani* migration described by Diego Félipo de Alvaya, curate of Mataca, may perhaps be this third one, though many details are certainly fanciful. According to Gandía (1935 a, p. 26), this was the migratory shift which took the *Guarani* from the region of Itatí to the Province of Santa Cruz and which contributed to the formation of the *Guarayú-Pauserna* tribe.

The fourth *Guarani* invasion, about which we have the most complete information, occurred between 1521 and 1526. It is famous because a few White men, shipwrecked sailors of the Solís armada, accompanied the invading Indians. One of them, Alejo García, seems to have played a conspicuous part in this migration, although Díaz de Guzmán's (1914, 9:28–30) statement that García was the organizer of the raid may be doubted. With a strong force of *Guarani* he crossed the Chaco, probably at lat. 15° S., and invaded the borderlands of the *Inca* Empire. The raiders advanced as far as Presto to the northeast and Tarabuco to the southeast of Sucre. Fearing a victorious return of the *Charcas* (Chicha), the invaders retreated, carrying their booty. On reaching Paraguay, with *Chané* and *Tarapecosi* (*Chiquito*), Alejo

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

175 ● 169 García was killed by the *Guaraní*. The historical character of Alejo García's expedition is amply proved by several passages in documents of the Conquest of Paraguay, mainly in the "Comentarios" of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, Pedro, 1852, pp. 579–580). The success of this raid prompted many more *Guaraní* to migrate westward. Those from the Río Paraná followed the Pilcomayo River. Those from the region of Asunción entered the Chaco north of that city. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayzapera, that is to say of the country of Itatí, entered the Chaco near San Fernando (lat. 20° S.). According to Díaz de Guzmán, these Indians were the ancestors of the *Guarayú* or *Itatines*, who lived 90 miles (30 leagues) from Santa Cruz.

In a letter written by Martín González from Asunción in 1556, there is the following passage which confirms the continuous migration of the *Guaraní* toward the Andes: "These Indians [the *Guaraní*] go and come back from the lands of Perú. As they have no roads and avoid their enemies, they reconnoiter the land ahead of them, settle long enough to sow crops and harvest their food, and go on. So went those who for long had been settled in the Peruvian sierras and those who go today to meet the Christians.

"In Asunción are many Indians who with their wives and children have gone there two or three times from opposite that city, along a river [the Pilcomayo] that flows 2 leagues from here and comes from the city of La Plata. The Indians from Paraguay have settled by that river and along the Cordillera, over a space of 100 leagues. Some *Carió* [*Guaraní*] have gone to the mountains along another river, 42 leagues down the Paraguay River, which is called the Ypití [Bermejo River]. *Carió* are established in the mountains near the Ypití River, which also leads, according to what those who came from Perú say, to the city of La Plata." (Quoted by Gandía, 1935 a, p. 37.)

Several thousand *Guaraní*, serving as auxiliaries and porters, accompanied Domingo de Irala and Nuño de Chaves on their expeditions from Paraguay to the foothills of the Andes. It is historically attested that the 2,000 or 3,000 *Guaraní* of Itatí who followed Nuño de Chaves in 1564 were in part the ancestors of the modern *Guarayú-Pauserna*.

The *Guaraní* not only invaded and conquered the foothills of the Andes from the upper Bermejo River to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but certain groups went even farther to the north and settled near the border of the *Mojo* and *Baurí* country. The *Pitaquari* (*Piritaguari*) were a *Guaraní* group established in the Sierras de Chiquitos, north of the first Santa Cruz. There were also *Chiriguano* around the town of San Francisco Alfaro in the Province of Chiquitos, near the Jesuit mission of San Xavier.

The *Guaraní* invasions, which started as plundering raids along the *Inca* frontier, were prompted by the desire to obtain gold and silver ornaments and copper tools from the *Caracara* (*Charcas, Chicha*) and from the *Chané* of the foothills, who were amply provided with these metals. Probably metal objects first reached the *Guaraní* of Paraguay through the *Chané*, whose villages were scattered across the Chaco from the Andes to the upper Paraguay River. Although the prospect of rich loot was certainly the predominant cause of their invasions, the old *Guaraní* dream of a land of immortality and abundance, the abode of the Great Ancestor, also may have played some part in determining their migrations.

175 648 The *Guaraní* finally became such a threat to the *Quechua* towns of the Province of Charcas that an *Inca* Emperor, probably Huayna Capac, built fortresses at Samaypata (Savaypata), Saigpuru, and Gunnacopampa to halt their inroads. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1906, p. 105) speaks of Huayna Capac's wars against the *Chiriguano*, of the *Chiriguano's* capture of the fortress of Cuscotuyo (probably Incahuasi), and their defeat by Huayna Capac's general, Yasca. The ruins of these

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazubi, Cabezas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacuri, Iti, Parapeti, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuarembuti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1798. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapeti River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Mashareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapeti. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 22,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapeti River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izozo, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were baptized and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapeti River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/67 cont./

173 never name dead persons, with the result that the principal
[551] events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization. the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin
• 169 was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when
648 the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Carious who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their
648 authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their expertness in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, coming into Paraguay. During the campaign they defended themselves and built fortifications at several points, of which I know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canon, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvu Mision, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

726
712

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

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/10 con./

Consequently it was very natural that the race which was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gilindaca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals. "Taimba," dog, "Uru," /11/ chicken, "Minta," cat. What is certain is that the Chiriguano race has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as well as the Mataco and the Chorote, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan mission of Macharetí, Tigüipa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

The places that the Chiriguano selected for their residence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

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/71 cont./
174 complete savagery (2).
169

2. Cayuguari, with some 30 Chiriguano, went to the desert to live among the savages to the east of Cavandaiti.

174 In addition to Chiriguano tradition and the fable of the
175 Aguara-Tunpa, from which we understand that the race with
167 which I am dealing originated in Paraguay, there are ecclesiastical and secular authors who support my opinion. Among the first stand out the Franciscan missionaries Cardús and Martarelli, and the most eminent among them is the Most Reverend Father Comado, who in his history of the school and missions of Tarija asserts that the most probable opinion is that the Chiriguano came from Paraguay, despite the fact that the Guaraní language is scattered through many parts of Brazil and some parts of the Argentine Republic, since, as we have just finished saying, language is a powerful argument in learning about the origin of a tribe, and it has already been said that Guaraní is generally spoken in Paraguay, so much so that it would not be an error to say /72/ that the Guaraní have gone to Brazil and to Argentina from the same Nation (1).

1. In the chapter "Religion and Beliefs" I shall discuss the fable of Aguara Tunpa more fully.

175 Among the secular authors we have the famous d'Orbigny. According to him, before the discovery of America by the immortal Genoese, the Chiriguano occupied the last ramifications of the Bolivian Andes, lived completely naked, were
CBD cannibals, and were of Guaraní origin (1). The Inca Yupanqui

[569 246]

2. The Indians of Pacapiti told me that the Tapii natives were their slaves, and that in the uprisings of the latter they ate their ringleaders and others.

175 648 /72 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention [125] of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts were in vain because his army was always conquered by the ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the range which divides this province from that of Acero and from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the Inca," and gives this name to the whole range, whose elevation to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental demarcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, when in the year 1898, the law of settlement was negotiated.

[192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/ language; the Chiriguano language does not even have a word which resembles it; it is thus very probable that that fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range, as can still be seen today (3).

3. The road from Caraparicito to Monteagudo through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don Octavio Padilla had it opened.

174 195 169 It is also a verified historical fact that after the discovery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000 Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River; in the Gran Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano, /illustration appears here/ /73/ but since they could easily make themselves

[Text continues on P. 105]

174 /73 cont./
175 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight
167 differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

[266] Having established their abode and formed a single
[171] tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

[197] 2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply
[161] much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

/75 cont./

175 founded various missions, and today what is not in the hands
797 of the respective diocesan authority is all in the power of the latter group, who have irrigated this soil with the sweat of their labors for centuries (1).

1. The Jesuit Father Pons made efforts to found missions in the stretch between the Pilcomayo and Parapiti, with whose Indians he began to speak, but he was unable to do anything. This was done in the first half of the seventeenth century.

174 There is no doubt about the Paraguayan origin of the
● 167 Chiriguano native, as there is none about that of the Guarayo, whose language is the brother of the former's, despite the fact that they do not understand each other well, owing to the great variations which both have undergone. Paraguay is southeast of Bolivia and the region occupied by the Chiriguano tribe northwest of the former, with the Gran Chaco being the extensive region which separates the two republics of Paraguay and Bolivia. The domicile of the Chiriguano in the Gran Chaco is another circumstance which weighs heavily in indicating the Paraguayan origin of the tribe.

All that remains is to know the route which the Chiriguano followed in their migration to Bolivia; it might have been done in a straight line, crossing the Gran Chaco, which distance from the last cordillera west of Parapiti and Charagua to Paraguay is scarcely 100 leagues, but this route offers the insuperable obstacle of lacking the most important element for life, water. This has clearly been demonstrated by the calamities suffered by the various expeditions organized by the Bolivian government for the purpose of opening a straight road to Paraguay by setting out from Isoso (2).

2. The explorer Francés Thouar, after having gone over the route opened by the Arana, had to retreat because of lack of water and in a rash slip became lost and, with several others, nearly perished from hunger and thirst.

/75 cont./

194
169 They could have emigrated from their land of residence and followed the course of the Paraguay River on its right bank, arriving at Curumbá, and then across the salt flats of San José, coming to the places which they occupy today, but the stretch is longer, the water to be found is scarce, and over great stretches there is no trace of anything which /76/ might verify their emigration over this route, if indeed they would not have been attacked en route by the numerous nomads thereabouts.

[133]
[361] It is necessary to conclude that they followed the banks of the Pilcomayo River; this rapid stream starts in the interior of the Bolivian Republic, crosses through the entire Chiriguano region, and empties into the Paraguay; its banks from near Azurduy up to Villa Montes is a straight line of more than 50 leagues, all populated by Indians who are clearly Chiriguano. From Villa Montes to Guachalla near the Esteros del Padre Patiño there are Choroti and Tapiete, who, with slight differences, speak the Chiriguano language; this stretch has plenty of water, fish, and fruit and is shorter than the above-mentioned one. Dr. Campos followed the banks of this river in order to arrive in Paraguay; Colonel Rivas, the Frenchman Crevaux, and the Spaniard Ibarreta followed the Pilcomayo River on their expeditions; they failed not through a lack of food or water, but some because they felt sure of the goodness of the Indians, and others because they had a very small force with them. All of these circumstances clearly show that the Chiriguano must have come into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo; the tribes along the way could not have offered them much difficulty, because their number was extraordinary; hardship on the travel rations was so insignificant that it allowed them to fight with vigor and bravery, and finally their attitude was peaceful (1).

1. Colonel Rivas and the Frenchman Crevaux were killed by the Toba, and Ibarreta by other Indians.

/76 cont./

174 When experience showed them that they could settle
• 167 in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen.
241 The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly
433 very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every
[461] type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and
241 then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and
511 sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's
[131] new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

197 By what has already been related it can easily be under-
[101] stood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194]
[171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/78/

Statistics

161 The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more
162 years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nine-
[181] teenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 23,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Parapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Choreti, Pipi, and others located south of Lagunillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

• 167 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than any-
161 thing, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have
000 been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers,

/79 cont./

178 464 [197] [162] Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from [131] [465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase [167] his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 197 361 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former times and the very missions which antedate South American independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/101 cont./

361 797 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic [464] of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 797 131

1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/106 cont./

Yacuiba

Because of an error in the demarcation of the boundaries with the Republic of Argentina, the town of Yacuiba is located to the south of the boundary stone, while it should be to the north, and the latter, the boundary stone, should be located precisely in Itiyuru, the limit of the Chiriguano race, which has occupied Bolivian territory since its immigration.

Yacuiba, or Yacuigua, as the Chiriguano pronounce it, means: lake of the wild turkey. It is a rich region throughout; its territory is level, the streets which are being built are as straight as a line of this name, the land fertile. There are grown there the arveja or pea, the garbanzo, and other cereals, which plants are irrigated with water which is relatively abundant.

The town, which also fell in the earthquake of 1899, is being rebuilt according to modern methods, and its progress is rapid. It now has a first-class hotel, where the traveler and the countryman are served with all culture and exactness, department stores, where every article is found, and permanent buildings, houses of great size, and a customs building all of zinc from the walls to the roof.

The little city, in addition, is quite picturesque because of the many orange groves which continually embellish it with their green foliage and yellow fruit, /107/ which indicates the fertility of the territory and the abundance of water.

The little city is located in the territory of Tarija; consequently it was founded through Bolivian efforts. It is the seat of the subprefecture of the Gran Chaco, and today it is a cosmopolitan town, whether because of the many foreigners who have settled there or because of the many others who are continually passing through, not to mention the importance given it by the continual arrival of vehicles and that which it will receive from the proximity of the railway.

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among civilized people, who go off to a determined place with 578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence 541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason, the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who urge them on with a word of command, while the poor angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not [412] known and, if they had them, they only used them in [178] their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed; [167] the young are succeeding the old, and these young people [464] continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife with which they are armed for their work, and to defend themselves. One small word is enough; it is enough if one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately, they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the point of the weapon but with the edge.

167 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has 464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very 167 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit- 464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could 648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

/121 cont./

Love for the Home

574
152 When someone has been away from his town for a long time and returns, he is received with much love. He enters his house without saying a word, and if he arrives at night, to the question of "Who is it?" he merely answers "Checo," it's me, and then those in the house begin to cry or give shrieks of joy which may last for five minutes, and soon they give him something to eat and the [114] questions and answers begin. I witnessed this without being seen one night in Parapiti at the San Antonio Mission.

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186 It is not rare that once in a while a smaller or greater proportion of Indians temporarily leave their town, either because of scarcity or in order to avoid the anger or ill will of the cacique. They then go away with considerable unhappiness, and they go into exile like Hagar /122/ with her son Ishmael when they were ordered out by the patriarch Abraham. They cry as they leave, they cry along the way, they cry upon arriving in the land that receives them, where, in spite of the good reception which has been prepared for them by other people, they do not find peace, and they always sigh for their home.

When they decide that in their former dwelling place things may have changed, or that the cacique who is responsible for their misfortune and exile may have disappeared from among the living, they return (1). In Yvu, where

1. The Indian Cayuguari, because of a crime committed in Machareti, fled with a group of Indian friends and relatives, settled quite far away to the northeast of Carandaiti, and, as the cacique whom he offended is still alive and as furthermore Cayuguari began a life of cattle rustling, he never returned to his town.

the war of Curuyuqui (1892) occurred when the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, all those Indians who had taken part in the uprising were wandering about in

/122 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
591 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
● 167 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (2).

2. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Yvu to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
799 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
829 main there very happily /123/ if a small mission were built for
177 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/204 cont./

643 648 797 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 574 829 643 The important men assert that to possess many wives is necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 622 [582] The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they do not become such in their youth, when they are like hummingbirds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] [167]

1. Formerly, women were abundant because of wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/237 cont./

648 464 466 It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425]

1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178 [169] Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648 [241] The object of the present chapter is to describe the method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them; now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them continually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them

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797 and our Holy Mother Church (2).
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2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

797 What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites
177 of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor
293 and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

●167 In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the
593 establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse
598 that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outrize

/305 cont./

knife; they learn to use it like the gauchos, get into fights, are injured, and even get killed, and, when they return to the mission, they only bring a little black clothing for themselves, a trifle or nothing for their wives, to whom they deliver a sovereign beating on the first chance they get, with reason or without, and then, at the first drinking bout they molest peaceful people, disturb public order, and always or nearly always it becomes necessary to bewail the spilling of blood. Let there be added to all of this the fact that the virus of irreligion is beginning to be inoculated hereabouts, and inasmuch as they are not well grounded in the dogmas of the Catholic faith, the result is that those who do not behave like infidels or indifferent persons are Protestants on the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and Catholics in the mission.

There is no doubt; moral, religious, and civil progress is the work of time; it is not the work of 40 or 50 years, as some believe. How long does it take to implant social reform among civilized people? How long did it take the Church to become established in the Roman Empire? Truth fought against error for more than 300 years; she was persecuted, shut up in the catacombs, and bathed in the blood of millions of martyrs of the Catholic faith, but in the end she triumphed and raised herself, radiant, above the ruins of error which had reigned for so many centuries.

No effort to implant social reform is made in the missions; what is being done is to build, to uproot the Indian from the jungle, to make him come out of barbarism, and to begin to teach him to be a man, to consider himself nobler than the brute; an effort is being made to remove from him the superstition /306/ in which he was born, so that he may believe in the maxims of the true faith. What sacrifice then must it not cost the missionary, who spends the best years, or even all the years, of his life in order to realize this grandiose project without earthly recompense, but rather with the marked scorn of those who should appreciate his highly civilized work (1).

1. The Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi has been in the Potosí Missions since the year 1872; almost all the missions have been founded by him;

/306 cont./
797 continually shown (3).

3. A rest is almost imperative after a long stay in the missions, in order to refresh the spirit, because a bow which is always bent breaks, says the Evangelist St. John.

/307/ There is no traveler who does not marvel upon considering the progress of the missions, upon considering the beautiful works of the Indians, when they think that years ago there were impenetrable jungles and bare hills on the site now occupied by the grandiose temple and buildings. As was said by an enlightened Englishman, Protestant in religion, of course, the Catholic missions among the Chiriguano are like oases in the desert, and to see them at a distance stirs who knows what in the heart; even I do not know what I experience when on some journey I again approach and see them in the distance.

The Method

The method established since the beginning of the first founding of the missions cannot be improved upon, in that it looks toward moral and civil progress and has yielded practical results, especially in some missions where, despite the fact that they have been in existence only few years, almost all speak the national language moderately well. Is this not a near prodigy, achieved with a race whose language has no analogy with
000 civilized languages? /The remainder of p. 307 and the first paragraph on p. 308 are omitted. The remainder of p. 308 follows./

• 167 464 [797] Following the method which has been implanted, the missions progress and would progress further if the Chiriguano were not so changeable. Neither in their towns nor in the neighboring cantons is there any lack of work for them; but rather it is day laborers who are not to be found; they prefer to go far away where they may earn less than here, spending their small gains on things that are useless and harmful to them (1).

[511] 1. There are neophytes who stay on the haciendas

/308 cont./

167 464 511

of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years: they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /ternito/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy dress very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before; they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

101 167

2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/; they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

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The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold: certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.

Nordenskiöld E-S, G 1908-1908, 1913) 1909
SF10 Chiriguano SF11 ●
Chane SF4

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Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book «Indianliv» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hermanstrick expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel «Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Riksmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

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A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the ethno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publicition in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

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I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaranised Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

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the tracts they now occupy.?) ¶ They drove out or subjugated the original population, which consisted chiefly of Chané Indians. They made slaves of a great number of these and ravished a great number of women.

The Chané are, as was mentioned, Arawaks and all indications point to their having come from the north or north-east, where they have large numbers of kinsfolk. It will be found that the present investigation confirms this. A matter of particular interest in this connection is to notice how two peoples belonging to the most important groups of tribes in all America made adaptations in their mode of life when they had emigrated to places with strange natural conditions. Again, it is worthy of note how their civilization was transformed and the influence of the Stone-age civilization in the west and afterwards under the influence of the Whites. Further we shall see what they have, under their new conditions, been able to preserve of their original civilization. We shall gain insight into the way in which the civilization of two Indian tribes was transformed under the influence of other peoples and new natural conditions.

As in Part I, I deal chiefly with the material side of these Indians' life. Or rather, everything in their life which

? Nordenskiöld 1-3.

? Hrdlička, basing his opinion on Gerszanich and Montesinos, has assumed that the Chiriguano invaded the Inca Realm earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. But even if his assumption is correct, these inroads led to no depopulation there. This is evident from the accounts of the invasion in the 16th century, when the Chiriguano supplanted, what was everywhere an original stock. Nor do we know whether by Chiriguano the Incas did not mean barbaric tribes of the Chaco in general, and not any particular tribe. In these parts Chiriguano probably corresponded to the signification that Cheerios had in the district of Cuzco, where it meant all sorts of barbaric Indian tribes east of the Andes. The Chiriguano that Gerszanich de la Vega and Montesinos speak of must by no means have been Guaraní Indians. I have already pointed out (Nordenskiöld 13) that Gerszanich's description of the Chiriguano is absolutely irresponsible.

6: Nordenskiöld--148 E-6 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ea 177 797 /298 cont./

The Indian, who loves an independent life, but is forced into the dance of civilization, does not want to become a minion child, but chooses this as the lesser evil. In the mission he is under guardians, but not under oppressors.

Ca 797 When my friend, the Chané Indian Batiayu, of whom I have spoken several times here, asked me whether it would not be best to ask the missionaries to come to the Chané on the Río Parapití, he thought of them as rescuers from the oppression of the white masters.

C 797 When I asked the Chiriguano chief Maringay whether he did not want missionaries to come to his village, the old man became quite indignant and said peevishly: "I have not done anything bad."

Ea 797 177 The greatest importance of the missionaries lies in the fact that they try to protect the Indians from the oppression and the vices of the whites. I have been pleased to see how the missionaries forbid liquor, the accursed liquor, in the mission stations.

Nevertheless, I do not believe in the future of the missions. It seems to me they are condemned to oblivion. To the extent that the Indians are given better treatment by the other whites and receive proper compensation for their work, they will leave the missions and forsake the guardianship of the Franciscan monks.

The missionaries, however, will always have the honor of having tried, at least to some extent, to protect the Indians from the other Christians. They have also earned honor for the studies they have made of the language, manners, and customs of the Indians.

Fear of the Rubber Regions

C 648 466 •167 In a previous chapter I spoke of the migration of the Indians to Argentina. In the /299/ northernmost territory of the Chiriguano Indians another emigration is taking place. It differs from the first, among other things, by the fact that it is not voluntary. It concerns the rubber regions in northeastern

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Bolivia. Every Indian who goes to the Argentine sugar factories knows that, if there is no disaster, he will return. No one holds him back by force. From the rubber regions, on the other hand, no one ever returns.

Is it true, they say, that there is a giant there who devours human beings? Is it true that people /300/ are ground

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Fig. 132. Chané children. Rio Parapiti.

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up into rubber? Is it true that the meat that comes in tin cans is from human beings? These are questions which the Indians asked me.

The Chiriguano Indians, especially from the Caipipendi valley, were lured in a shameless manner to the rubber regions in northern

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Thus, the Chiriguano and Chané are on the direct road to being drawn into the anything but fortunate struggle between employer and employee.

The Bolivian government should see to it that the fields of the Indians are entered in the land register, so that whites cannot take possession of them. The government should also make it a condition that no Indian may sell his land. In this

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Fig. 133. Clay vessel. ~ 1/9.
Chiriguano. Caipipendi.

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way the government would guarantee the Indians the right of occupation of the land, but not the right of ownership.

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/302/ The uncertainty and the oppressive wage conditions under which these Indians live naturally lead to emigration to Argentina and, above all, to the circumstance that many Indians abandon the land, not only as seasonal workers, but forever.

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If the Bolivian government wishes to do something for the Indians, it must first of all try to find a remedy for the worst evil, namely, alcoholism. There is a tremendous difference between drinking maize beer and liquor.

The Chiriguano inhabit the part of the Andean region, bordering on the Chaco, that roughly extends from the 18th to the 22nd degree of S. latitude. Within this region there is also found another tribe, viz., the Chané. These two tribes do not occupy each a territory of its own, but Chiriguano as well as Chané villages are found throughout the whole district thus jointly inhabited by them. No enmity exists nowadays between these culturally allied tribes. After the last great Indian rebellion against the whites (in 1890), a small portion of the Chiriguano tribe moved away into the interior of Gran Chaco, where it is believed that they are still remaining.

The western Chiriguano country, in which part the majority of the tribe is living, consists mainly of partly forest-clad mountain ranges, flanking wooded (fig. 187) or grass-grown valleys and small plains. It is a poorly watered country, but it mostly gives good crops, particularly gourd plants and maize. The climate is tropical, but in the higher parts the heat is not especially trying, except during the hottest season.

Although the Chiriguano and the Chané are on much the same level of material culture, they do not, however, belong to the same racial group, the Chiriguano being counted with the Guarani group, whilst the Chané are Arawak. The Chiriguano, according to Matienzo, took possession of their present country in the beginning of the 16th century, when a portion of the original inhabitants emigrated and settled in the Tarija valley.[1] Possibly the subjugated Indians belonged to the Chané tribe. In later times this tribe has adopted the language of the Chiriguano, which is Guarani. Whence the Chiriguano originally came is not known, but it may be taken as probable that, formerly, this tribe inhabited the lower reaches of Rio Parapiti.[2] The name of Chiriguano (quichua), which means »dirt people» was given them by the vainglorious Incas, who despised the Chiriguano people, affecting to look upon them as barbarians. The word »guano» is the name for the well-known bird manure-found on the coast of Peru and Chile. It seems however unfair indeed that the Chiriguano, who, in contradistinction to the Puna and Chaco Indians, are scrupulously cleanly, should suffer from such a misleading and discreditable tribal name.

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[1] de Matienzo (1), p. 150. Nordenskiöld (16).
[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 156.

8: Schmidt--24 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guarani SM4

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C. Gi. 175 178 167 The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126] The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gi 175 174 C [113] As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

/12 cont./

C C 144 [177]

Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).

45. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 114 141 C [113]

In addition to anthropological measurements made on four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche

46. Ten Kate. Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'antropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, /Pl. III-IV appear here/ [illegible] / Chorotes, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

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47. Anales del Museo de La Plata, Vol. I, No. 2, (Second Series). Buenos Aires, 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapati, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

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[Text continues on p. 30]

Ce 131 /14 cont./ still writes that the Chané were found scattered among the Chiriguano located among the last spurs of the Andes (53).

53. Moreno II, p. 254.

C 131 [114] Even after losing their independence, the Chiriguano inhabited more or less the same territory. Having known personally only Machareti out of the territory of the Chiriguano, I here refer to the data of Erland Nordenskiöld, who came to know them in the years 1908, 1909, and 1913 and personally traveled through most of this territory, spending up to four to five months altogether in the study of the Chiriguano and the Chané (54).

54. Nord. 2, p. XII.

According to Nordenskiöld (55), the territory of the

55. Nord. 2, pp. XIV and XV. Cf. Métraux I, pp. 332 and 333.

C Ce 131 Chiriguano extends from the region near Santa Cruz de la Sierra in the north to near the Bermejo River in the south. Now the Rio Grande can almost be taken as the northern limit of their territory. This is the land located between the boundary of the Andes and the great plain of the Chaco, in the valleys of which the Chiriguano, and in part the Chané live. It can be said that this territory is inhabited wherever there is the necessary water, although it may be no more than enough for and their domestic animals to drink. The Chiriguano inhabit that territory contiguously, while the Chané today live in territories separated from one another. Thus some of them are on the Itiyuro River in Argentina, some are in Caipipendi, some on the lower Parapití River, and others near Itaú, south of the Pilcomayo River. Outside of the territory of the Chiriguano which has thus been circumscribed, a few Chiriguano now live in the Santa Rosa Valley north of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and a few fled to the Chaco after the last broken revolt in 1890, without our having any information on their stopping place.

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/44 cont./

Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water